



Early Journal Content on JSTOR, Free to Anyone in the World

This article is one of nearly 500,000 scholarly works digitized and made freely available to everyone in the world by JSTOR.

Known as the Early Journal Content, this set of works include research articles, news, letters, and other writings published in more than 200 of the oldest leading academic journals. The works date from the mid-seventeenth to the early twentieth centuries.

We encourage people to read and share the Early Journal Content openly and to tell others that this resource exists. People may post this content online or redistribute in any way for non-commercial purposes.

Read more about Early Journal Content at <http://about.jstor.org/participate-jstor/individuals/early-journal-content>.

JSTOR is a digital library of academic journals, books, and primary source objects. JSTOR helps people discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content through a powerful research and teaching platform, and preserves this content for future generations. JSTOR is part of ITHAKA, a not-for-profit organization that also includes Ithaka S+R and Portico. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

NOTES AND ABSTRACTS.

Æsthetic Evolution.—In a previous article it was shown that æsthetic evolution depends upon religious evolution. But religion depends upon man's conception of the fundamental facts of nature. With the formation of this conception science comes to have more and more to do. Theology also is a conception of these facts. The conception furnished by science and that furnished by theology are not infrequently radically opposed to each other; hence a tendency toward opposition between that phase of religion and its corresponding phase of æsthetic, dependent upon that conception of nature furnished by science and the members of the same series furnished by theology. It has generally proven true that, when thus opposed, science and its dependents have come to be generally accepted rather than theology and its dependents. Therefore we are to look to science for the spiritual renovation and regeneration so much needed today, and may confidently trust the scientific religion thus evolved to furnish to art and æsthetic the highest sources of inspiration. The modern scientific conception of the world is not less æsthetic than the false conception of the ancients. It will furnish a sufficient inspiration to the noblest altruism, to the practice of the highest virtues, to the philosophic contemplation of nature, and to the attainment of great moral perfection. It will teach mankind that civilization would retrograde and disappear if human betterment were not insured by science, by art, and by morals.—EDMOND GALABERT, "L'évolution esthétique," *Revue internationale de sociologie*, October, 1898.

Religion and Morality.—Religion is a certain relation established between man and the eternal and infinite universe, or with its principle and first cause. It is an answer to the question, "What is the meaning of my life?" Morality is what exhibits and illuminates the activity of man, and which naturally proceeds from his relation with the universe. There are three relations in which man may stand to the universe, and correspondingly three kinds of morality:

The first is primitive, savage, personal morality. It includes all that is based upon the welfare of the individual; for instance, Mohammedan morality; that taught by the Christian church, which seeks individual welfare especially in the other world; utilitarian ethics.

The second is pagan morality, for which the end is the welfare of a group of individuals; as for instance; the official morality of the state, that of the ancient Jews, that of the Greeks and Romans.

The third kind is Christian morality, the essence of which is that man recognizes in himself an instrument for the service of one supreme will whose plans he should realize. It is the source of the most elevated systems man knows, viz., Pythagoreanism, Stoicism, Buddhism, Brahmanism, Taoism, Christian morality in the true sense of the word, which demands the renunciation of all will, of all good, not only of self, but also of family, of society, of the state, and that in the name of the accomplishment of His will who made us live, of that will of which we are conscious when it unveils itself to us. Morality cannot be independent of religion. Hideous abstraction, obscurity, unintelligibility, unthankfulness for life characterize modern pagan ethics. All rules of morality considered from the point of view of non-Christian ethics are only lies and hypocrisy. Some have sought to found Christian morality on pagan science; but no subtlety of thought, no sophism, can prevail against this simple principle, viz.: The theory of evolution is founded upon the survival of the fittest; consequently everyone ought, in his own interest or that of the society of which he is a member, to try to be one of the fittest in order that he or his group might not perish, but instead others less fit for the struggle. It would be desirable to have a moral system free from superstition. But since morality is a certain relation of man to the universe,

and since this relation is expressed in terms of superstition, we ought to try to make this expression more reasonable and exact. Above all we ought not to try to construct a non-religious moral system.—LÉON TOLSTOI, *L'Humanité nouvelle*, September, 1898.

The Application of the Collectivist System.—Collectivism, as is well known, consists essentially in the resumption by the state of all means of production, and in the changes and adjustments necessitated by such resumption. That a society founded upon the principles of collectivism would be far preferable to our modern individualistic society is to be inferred from the following considerations: (1) all those now living in idleness, or non-productively employed, or employed in callings which would become useless under the new régime, would be set to work in productive pursuits; (2) all the forces now wasted under individual methods of production would be conserved and utilized; (3) the hours of labor would be reduced, and the labor of women and children would be suppressed, save in rare cases; (4) many of the sources of the abuse of money would be removed, since the money of the collectivist state would have a fixed and unchanging value; (5) the social mobility of the individual would be an assured fact, while under the present system it is only an enticing promise; (6) education, according to fitness and needs, would be guaranteed to every child in the state; (7) each would receive, as a salary, the whole of the value created by his labor. These are not all. Certain reforms in the laws relating to marriage, inheritance, the punishment of crime, etc., might be mentioned in addition as flowing indubitably from an adoption and application of the principles of collectivism. But surely the points enumerated are sufficient to suggest the immeasurable superiority of the collectivist over the individualistic society.—X. . . ., "L'Application du système collectiviste," *La Revue socialiste*, August, 1898.

Individualism and Social Feeling in England.—Individualism as here used may be defined as the tendency to develop in one's self with the greatest intensity possible, and to make dominate as far as possible one's own personality. In some respects the undisciplined and critical neo-Latin may seem more individualistic than the Anglo Saxon, but really energetic will does not exclude obedience to authority. On the other hand, lack of discipline, fickleness, a tendency to neglect authority, difficulty in obeying steadily and patiently, the habit of depending upon others, do not constitute individualism proper, but rather a kind of negative individualism characterized by lack of will, self-control, and coöperation with others. What are the psychological and ethnical sources of English individualism? Ethnic explanations alone are insufficient; so are climatic explanations, though both are important. Insular situation has also been important. The Germanic races are characterized by realism, mixed with a certain mystic idealism; the former reaches its highest development in England, but the latter does not disappear.

The English are also characterized by individualism, together with social subordination. This latter is due to the Normans. The sensibility of the English is less fine and more limited than that of the French or the Italians. This is due to their phlegmatic temperament in harmony with the cold, damp climate of Great Britain. The character of the English has been influenced by the dark, cloudy sky, which inspires melancholy; but race is more important than climate here, for we see the Irish in the same climate keeping something of their Gallic lightness. English sensibility is German sensibility, but, because of a life more active and utilitarian, it is less sentimental and less mystic. Because of its habitual calm and seriousness the English mind has greater power of attention and profound concentration. The English mind is practical; it loves facts. The firm, patient, persevering will of the English is where they most resemble the ancient Germans. They are not prudent, like the French, but earn money that they may spend it, leaving their children to do the same. In morality the Englishman is not governed by any sentiment, like honor or social instinct, but by religious law or humane considerations. But the Englishman has his faults: his independence exposes him to egoism, his spirit of originality to eccentricity, his power and riches to contempt for the weak and poor. His habit of associating for some end has been maintained for centuries. On the continent executive ability was always of capital importance; on the British Isles, where security reigned, as far as neighbors were con-

cerned at least, the people were not obliged to be so continually ready to take up arms, nor were they obliged to contract permanent alliances; executive power, therefore, became subordinate to deliberative power. The three great events in the history of England are: the establishment of constitutional liberty and the parliamentary régime; colonial expansion; and the triumph of Protestantism.

Combine the Danish-Saxon tendency and the Celtic, and join to that the Latin influence exercised by France and Italy, and you will understand how the greatest poetry of modern times could be born and develop in England. The individual character was for English individualism the proper object for dramatic poetry.—ALFRED FOUILLEE, *Revue des Deux Mondes*, October 1, 1898.

Public Service and the Question of Monopolies in the United States.—

Monopoly constituted in opposition to the will of cities or states is a purely American phenomenon. The administration of continental Europe offers no examples of it. It results from the peculiar conception which obtained in the United States in the first half of this century concerning the functions of the state, of local government, and of city administration. These functions were reduced to a minimum. Material conditions then permitted it; agriculture was the ruling occupation, and there were few great fortunes. Besides, Anglo-Saxon spirit tended to organize strongly private life and to defend it from all intervention of public powers rather than to assure the development of these latter. But, the habit of treating public affairs as if they were private produced a veritable confusion. Concessions were granted to companies in every case where they could be made. But in place of imposing guarantees upon these companies in ceding to them all or part of their monopoly, the public authorities exercised their ingenuity to put them in competition with one another, thinking that competition would assure cheapness here as in ordinary affairs. Since the public put all its hope in the efficiency of competition, it was very disagreeably surprised to see that here competition did not long persist. The situation was all the more serious because the public found itself disarmed. Monopoly was organized against it and without compensation. The means which people had imagined would prevent it proved an illusion. The companies, often provided with perpetual charters, shut themselves up in their rights. The only resource which remained was to attack them in the name of the common law or by means of laws against trusts, which declared null all combinations which aimed at monopoly. Neither of these means, however, has been very efficacious. While in private industry a conjunction of exceptional circumstances is necessary to create monopoly, in the organization of public services it is the nature of the business which creates the monopoly. Instead of being exceptional, as in ordinary affairs, monopoly is here natural, normal, obligatory, and nothing is efficient against it. The abandonment of a public service without sufficient guarantee is here what has produced the abuse.

There are two principal sorts of trusts in the public service of the United States: those in the municipal service and those in the telegraphic service. Among the most prominent of the former are the gas companies. They obtained their charters at a period when the belief in the sovereign efficacy of competition was still intact. Thus five or six companies were often given charters in the same city. These afterward combined tacitly or openly to form a trust. The most conspicuous of these has been the Chicago Gas Trust. All legislative and legal efforts to kill this trust have been in vain, and it is still in existence. The situation is somewhat different for street railways, elevated roads, and other means of public transport. Inasmuch as street railways are much more recent than the use of gas, the municipalities have lost some faith in the efficacy of competition when it is a matter of public service; and they accordingly grant to transit companies licenses necessary for the construction of their roads. Generally they also exact a compensation. The tendency is to make the compensation greater and to limit the franchises to a shorter period.

The American telegraphs are in the hands of two companies only, the Western Union and the Postal Telegraph Company. These also practically form a trust. They have one tariff for the ordinary public, another for certain large business houses, and especially the press syndicate known as the Associated Press. A comparison of rates with the European systems is difficult to make, and, as usually made, is fallacious. This is at least true of Gunton's comparison. A strict comparison of American rates

with those obtaining in continental Europe, both as to distance and as to the number of words, would probably result in favor of the latter. In conclusion, one gains nothing in taking away from or in refusing to public authority a service which is normally relevant to it. It may be well to distrust its encroachments; but if a people trust to private initiative an enterprise which encroaches upon the prerogatives of the state or municipalities, under the pretext of escaping their tyranny, they end simply in creating another tyrant. That is what has happened in the United States in the case of the telegraph system, as in the case of municipal services in a large number of cities. Today it is recognized in the United States that what is necessary is to organize these monopolies in place of prohibiting them, to make use of them in place of letting them play the rôle of robbers. — PAUL DE ROUSIERS, "Les services publics et la question des monopoles aux États-Unis," *Revue politique et parlementaire*, October, 1898.

Anarchism and the Social Movement in Australia. — The social condition of Australia, since its first colonization, has been chiefly determined by these circumstances: the uniform mildness of the climate; the absence of dangerous animals, and of numerous, powerful, and hostile natives; the right of property over the entire soil affirmed by the state before any immigrant population was installed there; the system of colonization by convicts pursued for a half century by the English government; the discovery of gold, and the revolutionary movement of 1848. In these circumstances certain Englishmen, who had conceived the idea of making their fortune in Australia, and of setting up there a landed aristocracy, obtained a law which forbade the sale of the soil below a price high enough to be prohibitive as regards the common people. After the discovery of gold fields, the existence of a new class necessitated rendering more easy the acquisition of arable soil under certain restrictions. But the great mass of the people remained always fatally excluded from property in land. The result has been that the population is concentrated, especially in the great cities, to an incredible degree, while the capitalization of the soil is extreme. There is not a peasant proprietor throughout the continent of Australia. Harvesting and sheep-shearing are the work of nomad laborers, who live, not in the country, but in the cities, and who overrun the pastoral and agricultural districts during the working season. These conditions have been especially favorable to the development of communistic sentiments.

In Victoria the elements are historically different, even to absolute divergence, from those which have operated in the rest of Australia. This part of the country has never known the work of convicts which has elsewhere degraded the proletariat. In the gold fields the conditions of life were necessarily equal, and the population which gathered there was composed principally of emigrants of 1848, who had conceived the hope of founding, on Australian soil, a free and equal community. This moral sentiment has had its baptism of blood. In the first years of the gold fields the miners revolted against the exactions of the government, raising the standard of the Australian republic. Since then the governing classes of Australia have conceived the state as the representation of the social interest, while in the rest of eastern Australia the state has been for the people only the government, the supreme and absolute power over them. Thus in Victoria the socialist idea has always been an element of practical politics. Republican, agrarian, and collectivistic theories have always constituted an integral part of the ideas of the Victorian people. It was from these aspirations, instincts, and thoughts that the anarchistic idea disengaged itself at Melbourne a dozen years ago. An anarchistic club was organized in 1886, and several anarchistic newspapers were established. An agitation, more or less successful, has been conducted often in connection with the socialist agitation. The most noteworthy development has been an attempt at reconciliation between anarchism and socialism. This new movement is called communistic anarchism. It was organized by the writer of this article. As yet, however, an anarchist party can scarcely be said to exist in Australia. It is still merely an agitation. But it has developed both quantitatively and qualitatively during the period of its existence. At first it appealed directly to the spirit of revolution, but today anarchists believe that such agitation might lead to a governmental revolution merely, and that it is better to agitate simply for the logical acceptance of their principles. — J. A. ANDREWS, "L'Anarchisme et le mouvement social en Australie," *L'Humanité nouvelle*, August, 1898.

Proportional Representation.—Even with a just division of electoral districts the votes of electors have not an equal value, and a proportional representation of the different party groups in the electorate is not secured in the popular representation. The cause of disproportional representation is to be sought in the division into election districts as such. Indeed, this division permits no other result than that the popular representation becomes a representation of victorious majorities in single election districts instead of a representation of the whole electorate.

If it be presupposed that an election law is intended to serve the purpose of validating the constitutional principle of the equality of votes, then an election law which cuts up an electorate into many territorial election districts is unjust and impractical. It is unjust, because thereby it engenders great difference in the value of the votes. By this method of election no small number of electors will be sentenced to silence from the beginning, viz., all voters who live in election districts which are already conceded politically to one party or another. The method is impractical, because thereby the popular representation becomes only in a distorted way the representation of the political tendencies among the people. A division into election districts could, nevertheless, be justified if the election districts should present economically and culturally a half-way closed whole; but the opposite is the case.

There are two methods of securing proportional representation—the quotient method, which is practically applicable only with small constituencies, and the list-competition method, applicable with both large and small constituencies. We shall discuss only the latter. According to this method both large and small parties present through unions of voters, at an official place and at a definite time before the election day, nominations, lists of candidates, with as many names as each party can hope under the most favorable circumstances to elect. On election day the voter polls a double vote. In the first place he votes for a certain candidate. In the case that this candidate does not need his vote, either because he has already enough, or because he does not receive enough to elect him, the voter gives his vote to the remaining candidates upon the list. That is, the voter presents a list of men whom he wishes chosen, under obligatory preference of one among them. This method makes possible a proportional representation of parties. The loss of votes which assumes so great dimensions with the election-district system is here reduced to a minimum.

But it is claimed that this method secures proportional representation at the expense of delocalizing the party and of sacrificing the feeling between voter and candidate. The program takes the place of the person, and wire-pullers rule the political life. Very recently, however, the theory of proportional representation has had a supplementing, the significance of which can hardly be overestimated for the utility of the system. It is concerned with nothing less than the reconciliation of decentralizing local interests with centralizing tendencies. Richard Siegfried, in a book on proportional representation, discusses this new method in connection with the Württemberg electoral system. It is called the method of "connected lists" (*verbundene Listen*). A country is conceived as covered with a network of local committees of the different parties. Every committee nominates its own candidates and hands in its own nominations. But the local committees of one and the same party in the whole country designate their lists of candidates as "connected lists." At the ascertainment of the result of the election, first of all is determined how many votes have fallen to the nominations of the same party; that is, to the local candidates of the several parties. According to this is computed the number of mandates which falls to each body of "connected lists." The further distribution of mandates is then made to the single lists upon the basis of the number of votes which every single list has received. Within these the mandates are further distributed to the candidates according to the number of votes which have fallen to each. The technique of proportional procedure gains through these "connected lists" a great elasticity and is applicable to great constituencies. The weightiest consequence of the possibility of "connected lists" will be decentralization of parties, and therewith an avoidance of all the disadvantages which we have become acquainted with as consequences of a proportional method. The centrifugal and centripetal tendencies are happily equalized.—DR. RUDOLF EINHAUSER, "Proportionalwahl," in *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Staatswissenschaft*, viertes Heft, 1898.

Insurance against Non-Employment in St. Gall and Berne.—The chances for the prosperous development of insurance against non-employment in Switzerland have recently materially decreased. Frost has nipped the early buds of plans and projects. It almost looks as if with the extinguishing of the first enthusiasm this once warmly commended remedy for non-employment would also disappear. The difficulties of carrying out this branch of insurance have dampened the ardor of many of its friends. To the considerations and scruples which were recognized as valid from the start is now added, as a weighty argument, the collapse of the bank for the unemployed (*Arbeitslosenkasse*) in St. Gall. The experiences there have been cited, without criticism, against the principle of insurance for non-employment, and have already demonstrated their influence in the grand council of Zurich. This event will doubtless be cited in Basel also, as an argument against insurance for non-employment, where already a paralyzing standstill has succeeded the first enthusiasm. The fate of the banks for the non-employed of the two cities of Berne and St. Gall has not fulfilled the prophecies made at their founding. The bank at Berne was prophesied a short life, because it rested upon the voluntary principle, while the compulsory insurance against non-employment of St. Gall was regarded as the pioneer of the only right method for this branch of labor insurance. The bank of Berne has existed for more than five years, and has contributed materially to the solution of the problem of the unemployed of that city. But the insurance against non-employment at St. Gall collapsed after two years. The causes of this contradictory phenomenon are many. Along with inner causes inherent in the organization itself, the political conditions and personal qualities of the administrators play an important rôle. Both these banks show a notable agreement in their experiences which is valuable for the solution of technical questions connected with this kind of insurance. To these questions belong especially those of occupation, residence, status, age, and wages of the insured.

I. Insurance against non-employment must take into consideration the risk by means of gradation of premiums. The occupation of the insured is the first means of measuring this risk. Therefore a gradation in the risk according to the groups of occupations must be sought. For example, out of 4,220 insured of the city of St. Gall, 430 men reported themselves in the first year as out of work, according to which the total average of non-employment amounted to 10.2 per cent. But in the irregular occupations an average of 19.6 per cent. was shown, while among thatchers and day laborers non-employment amounted to over 30 per cent. Therefore any system of insurance against non-employment must be based upon statistics of occupation.

II. The question of the origin of the unemployed is very important for the problem of insurance against non-employment. The fear of immigration and of pretended settlement is widespread. Reprisals on the floating element in general, and foreigners in particular, have essentially influenced the practical form of this branch of insurance. Therefore it has been proposed either fully to exclude foreigners from insurance or to exclude those merely who are not permanently located. The experience of Berne, however, does not confirm this position. Berne originally limited the right of insurance to laborers of Swiss extraction, but after two years' experience authorized the admission of all laborers settled in the commune. In St. Gall, the first year, out of 430 reported out of work 27.4 per cent. were foreigners; the second year foreigners were represented by 36 per cent. But 72.4 per cent. of the foreign unemployed had dwelt six years or more in St. Gall. Therefore this would seem to show that the chief source of the non-employed is not from those fluctuating elements of which people suppose the crowds of unemployed in cities to be composed, but from permanently settled laborers. The conclusion is that a limitation of the right of insurance to the permanently settled laboring element is unnecessary and unjustified.

III. The family status of the non-employed is of significance for this kind of insurance in two respects. First, it makes a difference in capacity for assessment with premiums, while, secondly, it seems to justify a differentiation of benefits. While 27.4 per cent of the total insured in St. Gall were single men, only 23.9 per cent. of the 430 reported out of work the first year were single. The danger of non-employment seems to be considerably greater with the married than with the single. In St. Gall, of the married insured, 15.9 per cent. were out of work, while of the single, 4.1 per cent. If it is desired to derive advantage for the insurance fund from the unmar-

ried, it may be done through a slight raising of the premium for the unmarried. This can be more lightly borne by the insured than a differentiation in benefits.

IV. The age of the unemployed has concerned insurance against non-employment hitherto chiefly in respect to its minimum limit. This latter varies from fourteen to eighteen years. But for insurance the maximum limit of age is even more important, and it is very remarkable that this has not yet received extended consideration. Capacity for work decreases rapidly with increasing age. To the greater risk of non-employment in the older years of life is added the difficulty of obtaining new positions. The experience of St. Gall shows that of the total non-employed over 28 per cent. were men over fifty years of age. Out of ninety-two men employed in the irregular trades who were over sixty years of age, 36.9 per cent. were out of work, while of those under sixty years of age only 20 per cent. were out of work. For these reasons the establishment of a maximum age limit for admission to insurance seems entirely justified. People who are over sixty years of age occasion for the insurance bank so great a risk that they should be excluded from the right of insurance. Here the question of the duration of membership comes into consideration. Insured who have been members at least four years might be compensated for non-employment of at most thirty days after they have passed their sixtieth year. But insured members of less than four years' standing should lose their right of membership after their sixtieth year.

V. The principle of grading premiums and benefits along with the risk according to wages is fairly well accepted. The opinion was general that the laborer who received a higher wage should contribute a somewhat greater premium. But the expectations of financial gain attached to this plan have shown themselves in St. Gall delusive. The laborers were divided into three classes according as they earned per day three francs or less, three to four fr., and four to five fr. These respectively paid a premium of fifteen centimes per week, twenty centimes, and thirty centimes. But out of 993 men insured in the first class 197 became unemployed, while out of 335 men of the second class sixty-four men became unemployed, and out of the six men of the third class two. Benefits were paid to the first class to the amount of 13,519 fr., to the second class 4,531 fr., to the third class 159 fr. The ratio of benefits in each class was such that no considerable financial gain resulted to the insurance fund. For these reasons Berne has made a good move in establishing unconditionally a single-premium class. This premium amounts monthly to fifty centimes, that is, it is lower than the lowest premium demanded by most other systems of insurance against non-employment. Furthermore, the experience of St. Gall shows that approximately a third of the unemployed had a daily wage not amounting to more than three francs. More, than the half of the unemployed received a wage between three and four francs daily and only 13 per cent. received a daily wage amounting to more than four francs. Therefore, to disencumber the administration and to avoid injustice and friction, the establishment of a single-premium and benefit class is commended. Finally, the administration and management of the insurance fund should give the greatest room to the influence of the insured laborers, because therein lies the best guarantee for the prosperous development of such insurance, as the experience of St. Gall, on the one hand, and the favorable results in Berne, on the other, clearly show.—DR. E. HOFMANN, "Die Arbeitslosenversicherung in St. Gallen und Bern," *Archiv für soziale Gesetzgebung und Statistik*, Band XIII, 1. u. 2. Heft.